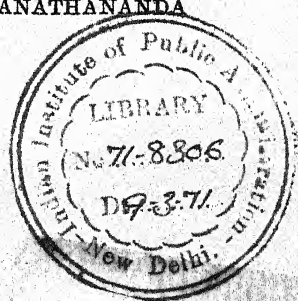


**THE PHILOSOPHY
OF
DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION**

By
SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA



PREFACE

The advent of Independence marks the water-shed between the role of Administrative Services in India as they were under the British rule and in the India peopled by the citizens of a free country. After the British left and India became the master of its own destiny, the context in which the Administrative Services were required to operate was radically altered. The goals and objectives which Government was expected to subserve underwent a total change. The responsibility of the State was no longer to be confined to maintenance of law and order so as to ensure a modicum of peaceful conditions to the citizens for pursuing their own way of life. The scope of its functions was extended to comprehend the entire gamut of activities which are necessary to effect a comprehensive economic and social development of the country.

The Administrative Services, which constitute the primary tool in the hands of Government for realising the new objectives of the Welfare State, were called upon to shoulder the vastly enlarged responsibilities and diverse onerous tasks with the result that the scope and scale of the present-day Administrative Services bears little resemblance to what was required to be done in the pre-Independence era. Considerable thought has been given to equip the new entrants to Administrative Services with the professional skills required for performing developmental tasks. In the field of economic administration, the scheme of the basic training for the new entrants to the Administrative Services in the Academy and a large number of

refresher courses on different subjects and aspects of development administration for junior and middle level officers as also fellowship programmes and study tours in the developed countries abroad etc., bear eloquent testimony to the concern of Government with training and orientation of young officers. As incentives in the form of rational pay structure is an essential ingredient of management of Administrative Services, an integrated pattern of pay scales, promotional prospects and other financial benefits has been worked out with considerable care. But experience has shown that neither training programmes for developing professional skills nor economic incentives are sufficient to engender a sense of personal involvement, social responsiveness, dedication and a compelling urge to achieve total efficiency in work which are needed to bring about economic and social reconstruction of the country. More and more, it is being realised that the answer lies in changing the attitudes and motivation of administrators or officials at all levels. Unless this is done, it may not be possible to bring about a keen awareness of social needs and a deep realisation of the ultimate goal and objective of administrative endeavour, *viz.*, the service of the people. Governmental institutions are not at present equipped to impart education and training for development of such basic attitudes. For this purpose, we have to draw on a scheme of certain ethical and human values which are part and parcel of our spiritual heritage. Like all great truths, these values are expressed in such bafflingly simple words as, "Shradha" (श्रद्धा) which signifies faith in oneself and the meaningfulness of the cause for which one strives, "Tyaga" (त्याग) for renunciation which includes pursuit of excellence regardless of material rewards,

“Seva” (सेवा) or dedicated service. It is unfortunate that the practice of traditional religion has become divorced from the cultivation of these qualities. On the other hand there are hardly any other values which are as necessary for a ‘man-making’ and ‘nation-building’ education as for shaping of attitudes needed for dedicated civil servants.

The following pages are almost a verbatim reproduction of the discourse delivered by Swami Ranganathananda on the Philosophy of Democratic Administration. Here is an illuminating exposition of the significance of basic values which, in the last analysis, constitute the bed-rock on which enlightened, dedicated and efficient civil service has to be built.

*Bangalore,
15th December 1970*

*R. N. VASUDEVA,
Chief Secretary & Chairman
Indian Institute of Public
Administration,
Mysore Regional Branch.*

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION*

BY

SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA

I am happy to come to this Institute of Public Administration, Mysore Branch, and to spend a few minutes with you, the Staff of the Secretariat of the State of Mysore, to discuss problems that confront us to-day in India and to find some solutions to them by thinking together. As I entered this hall of the Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore, a few minutes ago, Mr. R. N. Vasudeva, your Chief Secretary and an old friend of mine, told me that this Conference Hall of the Vidhana Soudha was being used by you to do a little occasional thinking through meetings such as this. I was happy to hear this particular remark, because one of the things we seem to have banished, ever since we became free, is this habit of thinking, and thinking together. Since freedom came we became more interested in talking and shouting than in thinking.

Humanity: Nature's Sole Inter-thinking Species

Man is described by modern biology not only as an inter-breeding species, the only such species in nature, but also as, what is more significant, an inter-thinking species, again the only such species in nature. Man thinks, and thinks together and, through such interpenetration of minds, achieves great heights of culture and civilization. Our own ancient culture is a product of such profound thinking and inter-thinking. Modern western culture, similarly, is the product of the same process.

*Address to the staff of the Mysore State Secretariat in the Vidhana Soudha Conference Hall, Bangalore, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Mysore Regional Branch on 19th February 1970.

But since we became independent, as I said before we seem to have gradually deprived ourselves of this great discipline of thought and its great energy resources. We became complacent. We had to be awakened to it by certain experiences, one of which was the Chinese invasion. A sense of complacency, with its offshot of stagnation and a colossal lack of a sense of dedication and national vision, descended upon us within a few brief years of our becoming politically free.

Yet, in spite of this, our nation has registered some real progress in various fields during the past twentytwo years of our post-independence existence. There has always been, and there is still, a small minority of thinking people in India, at the centre and in the states—in politics, administration, and public life—who are imbued with the spirit of patriotism and national dedication; and through their devoted endeavours, the country did achieve some progress.

Politics Versus Administration

But the problems that confront us today are not problems to be tackled by a small minority of dedicated people. That creative minority we always had in India. But the problems are so complex, multifarious, and urgent that we need to have this spirit of vision and dedication more widely diffused in the various sections of our population, and more especially, in that branch of our population known as *the administrative branch*, both at the centre and in the states. I have always felt that, ever since we became free, the greatest responsibility for national welfare rests upon our administration. Just as, in the field of health, the doctor does the operation, but it is the nurse who, through her devoted and efficient care in the light of the doctor's directions, brings the patient back to health, so is it with respect to the health of the nation. Between the two branches of politics and administration, the former directs national affairs in a particular direction, leaving to

the latter the achievement of that direction with energy and dedication. Hence the importance of all our training programmes for our administrators. Such training programmes are meant not only to impart and acquire this technical know-how of the subject, but also to impart and acquire a sense of national vision, a spirit of national dedication.

This is very very relevant today when we are engaged in transforming our erstwhile police state of the period of subjection into a welfare state of the era of freedom. *There is need for our administrators, from the highest to the most ordinary cadre, to be constantly impressed with the fact that their country is engaged today in a mighty task of peaceful social reconstruction and transformation of revolutionary dimensions in response to the centuries-long suppressed urges and aspirations of our people.*

The Administrator as a Focal Point of National Freedom and National Responsibility

This constitutes a dynamic external environment for the life of every Indian citizen today. It calls for a corresponding dynamism within our personality—in our attitudes, outlooks, and behaviour patterns. Unfortunately, many in our administration have not achieved this inner change. They still function as static centres in their dynamic environment. This is true of millions of our educated citizens as well. That is the tragedy of our nation today.

I have had occasions to discuss with our Planning Commission, when it put out its First Five Year Plan Draft about twenty years ago, and later with our Central Services Trainees, first in Metcalfe House, New Delhi and later in the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, that a change in attitude of the administrators is absolutely essential if our nation is to change over from a police state

to a welfare state. I then wrote an article for the Metcalfe House Journal of the Indian Administrative Service entitled 'The Administrator in a Welfare State'. This and a later lecture on 'The Training of our Administrators' at the Central Secretariat Training School, New Delhi are now available in a booklet titled *The Administrator in a Welfare State*, published by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Culcutta 29.

This change in attitude is necessitated by one important factor, namely, political freedom. When India was under foreign British rule till 1947, the entire administration was the tool in the hands of a foreign power to perpetuate itself in this country. As soon as the British left and India became free, the administration in India became the tool in the hands of the free people of India to enhance the dignity and welfare of men and women in the nation. That change makes, or ought to make, a world of difference. It is that world of difference, the difference between subjection and freedom, that I find missing from the awareness and behaviour of the vast majority of members of the administrative apparatus today.

The fundamental impact of the change from subjection to freedom on the administrator is that the primary focus of his personality is now *in his being the citizen of a free country* and only secondarily *in his being a job-holder or a social functionary*. We are all primarily citizens of free India and only secondarily administrators or other social functionaries. This change in outlook, this change arising from the recognition of the context of freedom in which we live and work, ought to make a world of difference in the handling of one's job as an administrator. As a citizen, he becomes an insider, not an outsider, he is involved in the work of the nation and for the nation. He is concerned with the happiness and welfare of his people. This idea of one being not an outsider but an insider is a tremendous force, making for a sense of responsibility and effectiveness of personality.

But it is sad to note that millions of people in India have not been able to grasp this fact and evolve this fusion of freedom and responsibility in their personalities. They have failed to grasp that they are of the nation and not only *in* the nation. While sitting on the chair of the administrator in an office, one becomes the focal point of the mounting hopes and aspirations of the nation and of the possibility of free India satisfying those aspirations. The administrator is thus a focal point of the two great forces of national freedom and national responsibility; and when he or she realises this, he or she ceases to be a mere *static individual* but becomes a *dynamic personality*. If this change had come in a big way over the personnel in the administration from top to bottom, and generally over all of us also in the nation, our economic and social progress would have been more impressive and revolutionary.

Athens and the Ecstasy of Freedom

We learn from history that when a people achieved political freedom after foreign subjection, they often experienced a sense of exuberance, which found expression in an outburst of creative adventure. One such historical episode has a great lesson for us to-day. The late Bertrand Russell, in his *History of Western Philosophy* refers to the tremendous impact of political freedom on the ancient Athenian state in the wake of its victory over its Persian invaders. For two decades Athens was under the threat and shadow of the Persian Empire. That Empire destroyed part of the city and constantly harrassed the free people of Athens. But, by their patriotism, dedication, courage, and sacrifice, they defeated the mighty Persians on sea and land and achieved political freedom and security. This glorious victory had an ecstatic impact on the national mind, an ecstasy which found expression in a tremendous outburst of creative activity in Athens during the succeeding fifty years and which gave to the world the great classical Greek culture which has powerfully influenced all Western culture

thereafter. The ecstasy of freedom was the stimulus to an outburst of creative activity in many fields of human culture on the part of a small state comprising hardly two hundred and thirty thousand citizens ; and that state wrote an immortal chapter in human history in a brief span of fifty years, exemplifying the dictum of the *Mahābhārata* in its exhortation of a queen mother to her princely son : *Muhartam jvalitam śreyo, na tu dhāmāyitam ciram*—‘It is better to flame forth for an instant than to smoke away for ages’.

This is an episode which will do much good to us today if we ponder over it and assimilate its implications. As far as India is concerned, we have achieved our freedom not after ten, twenty, or thirty years of political subjection and humiliation, as in the case of Greeks, but after centuries of foreign rule. We have been thwarted in our aspirations for centuries together. But thanks to the teachings, leadership, sacrifices, and dedications of a few generations of great patriots and thinkers in the last and this century, our nation became free on 15th August 1947 and adopted a sovereign democratic republican constitution for itself in 1950.

Why our Ecstasy was short-lived

Any Indian student of his or her national history who reads this story cannot remain a mere onlooker of events, but will become involved in the fortunes of his nation thereafter ; unless, of course, our long centuries of servitude have blasted away our appreciation of freedom and its challenges ; and unless our education has failed to make for *assimilation of ideas* in place of mere *gathering of information*. It looks as if such a blasting has taken place ; it is also evident that our education had no relation to national realities.

How ineffective has been our education will be evident when we compare it with Vivekananda’s educational ideas

given to the nation at the end of the last century. Said he (*Vivekananda: His Call to the Nation*, pp. 49-50) :

‘What is education? Is it book learning? No. Is it diverse knowledge? Not even that. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful is called education.’

‘The education which does not help the common mass of people to equip themselves for the struggle for life, which does not bring out strength of character, a spirit of philanthropy, and the courage of a lion—is it worth the name? We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect is expanded, and by which one can stand on one’s own feet.’

Accordingly, our joy of freedom turned out to be a temporary emotional experience. Many of us were eager that the Britisher should go. Many of our people were looking forward to an era of freedom. But when freedom actually came, the spiritual quality of that emotion and its intensity soon evaporated, and millions of our intelligentsia quietly settled down to seek and enjoy personal profit, power, and pleasure. After a very brief spell of post-independence national enthusiasm, a ‘honeymoon’ spirit set in, and the sense of national urgency, striving, and responsibility vanished. We soon settled down to *squeeze* the fruit of freedom each one unto himself, and herself, and silently adopted the motto of ‘each man unto himself and the devil take the hindmost.’

A story told by Swami Vivekananda well illustrates this post-independence attitude and behaviour of many of us in India :

A certain king had great faith in his courtiers. The Prime Minister of the king told him not to put so much trust in his courtiers, for they were, after all, courtiers, self-seeking and given to flattery. The king was not

convinced. The Prime Minister promised to prove his point. With the permission of the King he announced a festival in the royal palace which required every courtier to bring a jug of milk early morning before sunrise and pour it into a container kept behind a curtain. The morning came and the courtiers came one by one and poured their quota into the container and left. The Prime Minister then took the king to the enclosure to inspect the container. And both were surprised, the king more than the Prime Minister, to find the container filled with water with not a drop of milk in it. When questioned by the king, each courtier said that since all the other courtiers would be pouring their jugs of milk, he thought his own jug of water would be too insignificant to be detected.

Similarly, every person and every group in the nation thought that since other persons and groups would be working for the nation patriotically, a bit of self-aggrandisement on his or its part would not matter, would not be detected.

This is all recent history. What is this due to? There is obviously something wrong in our mental make-up that prevents us from experiencing sustained national enthusiasms and patriotic endeavours. It is this weakness in our mental constitution that we have to tackle today. Unless we tackle it, we shall continue to wobble all through our life and history. India has a long history. It has seen history when the ancient Romans and Greeks were not there ; and it is seeing history when the modern Americans and Russians are there today. This impressive continuity of India is a unique aspect of world history. In fact, even the one hundred and ninety year long British subjection appears like a brief dream in our long history. There is an interesting story which helps to bring into focus this brief British period of our history in the context of our five thousand year-long history. After we became free in 1947, there was an interesting account in one of our newspapers of an interview which one of its correspondents

had with an old man living in a village a few miles outside the city of Calcutta. Accosting the aged villager, the correspondent asked him in the understandable pride of a conveyor of an important piece of information : My dear old friend, haven't you heard the great news ? What is that ? asked the old villager. The Britishers have left ; we are now independent, said the correspondent with some excitement. The old man just looked up and asked quietly : But when did they come ?

Our New Democratic State : Its Historic Uniqueness

There you have the impact of the age-old history of India. Against that impressive time back-ground, the one hundred and ninety years of British rule looks like a brief dream. In 1947 that brief dream ended and the nation resumed its march. But it has now new problems to face, new obstacles to overcome, and also new opportunities for self-expression, undreamed of in the past. For the state we established in 1950 has a very special quality which no state in our long history has ever had. All the states we had in the past depended upon a king, an emperor, or a military conqueror, native or foreign. Not one of them was founded on the strength of the political awareness and consent of the people. But now for the first time in our five-thousand-year history, we have founded a state in India drawing its sustenance from 'We, the people of India', as the preamble to our constitution states. It is a state deriving its strength and sustenance, not from a king or an emperor or a military conqueror, but from the millions and millions of the people of India, and seeking to give that strength and sustenance back to them in an enhanced form. This is the nature and scope of our sovereign democratic republic. It is a unique experiment, as I said, in our long history.

Three Lessons to Our Democratic Success

The success of this unique experiment depends on our people developing virtues and graces appropriate to this

new venture and unlearning those attitudes, habits, and ways which incapacitated us from establishing and maintaining a continuing political state in our country all these thousands of years. This is the challenge before us. How shall we go about meeting it?

The first lesson we have to learn today is to educate ourselves to shed our feudal attitudes and ways and assimilate the democratic outlook and behaviour. Democracy is not just a political arrangement only; it is more a social outlook and temper. Feudal minds cannot handle a democratic machinery successfully; only democratic minds can do that.

The second lesson we need to learn is to become an insider and not continue to remain an outsider with respect to our new state; to become involved in its promises and performances, its successes and failures.

The third lesson we have to learn - and this is the most difficult one for many of us in India - is to grow into a truly dynamic personality from the level of a static individual; to develop our family awareness into a national political awareness; it means, in short, the *grhastha* or the householder growing into the citizen; *man's biological individuality rising to the first stages of his spiritual personality*. I shall discuss this last in more detail a little later.

The Ethical Content of Democratic Citizenship

Citizenship of a democratic state involves growth of ethical awareness and human concern beyond the confines of one's biological family group. It betokens an expansion of personality beyond the texture of genetic relationships. This is what discloses the truth of the political concept of citizenship possessing an ethical content, investing it with a spiritual value. By the *grhastha* growing into the citizen, life registers an advance from the organic to the spiritual level. This is what twentieth-century biology refers to as

psycho-social evolution. Evolution at the human stage ceases to be physical or organic and becomes psycho-social; it becomes ethical and spiritual.

It is through such evolution that man grows into a new dimension, at once personal and impersonal, in which private morality becomes reinforced by public morality. Such citizens form the main source of strength and sustenance of a progressive socio-political order.

It was this development in a systematic form that we missed in India in the past. We can trace our current social problems to our long neglect of this aspect of human excellence. Public spirit, practical efficiency, a pervasive human concern, and resistance to social injustice and oppression form a galaxy of dynamic and positive character-traits which are the hall-mark of a citizen. Man in India in recent centuries tended more to be a bundle of negative traits than an integrated character of positive virtues and graces. That explains why we remained static individuals and failed to become dynamic personalities.

When we now strive to grow into dynamic personalities and develop positive virtues and graces in our character, we shall ensure and witness the steady progress of our nation in all fields. Our national development is too slow compared to not only such developed countries like Japan and Germany but also to the countries of our own development level such as Malaysia and some other Asian nations. It is about ninetyeth in order in the list of the members of the United Nations and about thirtieth among Asian nations in *per capita* gross national product !.

The Energy of Manliness

The energy and practical efficiency of countries like Germany and Japan can be an eye-opener to us. I have been to these countries. It is amazing how these, shattered by the Second World War, completely shattered, rebuilt

themselves in two decades and have become industrially and commercially a challenge to the highly developed countries like USA and USSR. Today Japan stands foremost in the field of ship-building, replacing pre-war UK and post-war USA, and near-foremost in steel production. Japan now builds about 20 million tonnage of shipping every year. How did they achieve these miracles of national recovery and reconstruction? They have a quality which Swami Vivekananda referred to in his speeches and writings as something which he wanted our people to acquire, namely, *manliness*. This represents a totality of positive attitudes based on faith in one-self and faith in fellow human beings *and the heroic mood of facing life's problems instead of evading them or running away from them*. This is known as *śradhā* in Sanskrit, faith in oneself and faith in the ultimate meaningfulness of the world. Swami Vivekananda exhorted our people to capture this *śradhā* and emphasized again and again the need for resorting to a *man-making education and man-making religion*. We have many religions in our country; and our country was partitioned into India and Pakistan on the basis of religion. It is good to remember in this connection what Swami Vivekananda said on the subject of such divisive religion. Writing from London to Sister Nivedita on 7th June 1896, he said :

'Religions of the world have become lifeless mockeries. What the world wants is character. The world is in need for those whose life is one burning love, selfless. That love will make every word tell like thunderbolt'.

What we need is an education and a religion that will give us character-efficiency, that will make us active, energetic, patriotic, and dedicated, that will help our people to respond to the human situation around them, a situation compounded of misery, oppression, and injustice for millions of our people for hundreds of years, on the one side, and mounting hopes and aspirations of our people for a good life in the wake of our political freedom, on the other.

That is the dynamic context in which you and I and every new-born child live and work today ; it is the context in which every child of ours is to be educated and brought up. Unless we become fully cognizant of this situation, we shall not be able to bring out the best out of ourselves for our own personal development and in the service of our state, in the service of the millions of our nation. What grinding poverty, backwardness, social injustice, oppression, have been heaped upon our people for centuries together ! Due to these constant oppressions, our people have lost their individuality, self-respect, and initiative. Our new-won freedom must restore these to them. This very state of Mysore, this Karnataka region, how much suffering its common people have passed through ! Contending armies of ambitious rulers marching across the land, decade after decade, making for poverty, social backwardness, and a spirit of despair and resignation. This has happened again and again. The continuous depredations of invaders and petty chieftains, first, foreign and, later, bred within by chaotic political conditions, made the peasant, the artisan, and the common people of Mysore and the rest of India develop a conditioned reflex of fear of the world around them and apathy as to their own lot in it. Continuous thwarting created a conditioned reflex, first of fear, then of apathy, and finally of resignation.

But that dark period is now over for us. The nation is free : it is united under a democratic constitution. It is poised for a mighty adventure of, what Vivekananda over seventy years ago had called, *man-making and nation-building*. But if we let this opportunity go and continue to think and act in terms of personal aggrandizements, petty jealousies and small loyalties, we may as well jeopardize our new-won freedom and pawn our future. We have constantly to remember that you and I are free if India is free. If India goes down, where are you and where am I ? This we sometimes forget, and all our national ailments of the last twentytwo years have come from our parochial attitudes and frenzied actions. This is absolutely irrelevant in the India of today. What is relevant is the cultivation

of broad national attitudes and the spirit of service and the sense of national responsibility which are the essential hallmarks of a citizen in a free democracy.

The citizen has been defined in political philosophy as the free and responsible member of a free society. Freedom and responsibility constitute the two great values of a citizen. As citizens of free India, therefore, we are all involved in the problems and prospects of our country.

The Power of Organisation

Our problems are staggering ; they can be tackled and overcome only by our joining our separate wills together to form an organised whole. This is the meaning and significance of *organisation* ; and among organizations, the most significant one is the political state. As a people, we had been woefully lacking in this capacity for organization, whose basis is character, mutual trust, and team-spirit. These are spiritual qualities. Exhorting our nation to develop this spiritual capacity, Vivekananda says in his lecture on 'The Future of India' delivered in Madras in 1897 (Complete works, Vol. III, pp. 299-300) :

' Why is it that organizations are so powerful? Do not say that organization is material. Why is it, to take a case in point, that forty millions of Englishmen rule three hundred millions of people here? What is the psychological explanation? These forty millions put their wills together and that means infinite power and you three hundred millions have a will each separate from the other. *Therefore to make a great future India, the whole secret lies in organisation, accumulation of power, co-ordination of wills.*

' ... Being of one mind is the secret of society. And the more you go on fighting and quarrelling about all trivialities such as " Dravidian " and " Aryan ", and the question of Brahmins and non-Brahmins and all that, the further you are off from that accumulation of energy and

power which is going to make the future India. For mark you, the future India depends entirely upon that. That is the secret-accumulation of will power, co-ordination, bringing them all, as it were, into one focus.'

Here is our democratic state as the instrument of the collective will of its citizens. And the administration is the main instrument of action of the state. It is necessary to keep this instrument from becoming flabby and blunted. It is to be kept sharp and fit. That is the purpose of all administrative training programmes, it *ought to be* their aim and purpose. Administrative efficiency is the product of four factors :

Mastery of the technical know-how ; keen awareness of, and imaginative involvement in, the national urges and aspirations ; a consequent sense of dedication ; and capacity for hard work in a team-spirit.

It is this type of efficiency that makes the administration capable of mobilizing the vast human resources of the nation and getting the average citizen involved in its developmental programmes, instead of resting content with handling the nation's material resources only.

Men Versus Money

Herein lies the weakness of free India's politics and administration. We have often tended to put the cart before the horse. We have been enthusiastic more about voting the crores for the plans than for enthusing the people to work out the plan programmes themselves. We tended to put money before men. This has been our national weakness. Even in our marriages, we have been accustomed more often to marry the dowry and not the girl. Swami Vivekananda drew the nation's attention powerfully to this our national weakness in his lectures and letters. His voice tells us today that man is primary and money is secondary. It is man that makes money do wonders.

With efficient dedicated men and women behind its money, the nation can produce ten crores out of one. That is a great lesson that history teaches us again and again. Nations with limited material resources have achieved great economic and social progress. There we find demonstrated the primacy of man over money. In the same lecture on 'The Future of India' referred to earlier, Swami Vivekananda said, referring to his plan for nation-building in India (ibid., p. 303) :

'That is my plan. It may appear gigantic, but it is much needed. You may ask, where is the money? Money is not needed. Money is nothing....Money and everything else I want must come, because they are my slaves, and not I theirs....Must-that is the word. Where are the men? That is the question?'

The Tyranny of the Triple 'p' s

The human resources in India distributed in our sprawling administrative apparatus in the centre and in the states and down the village level need to be developed into a powerful agency for energizing the rest of the human resources of the nation with a view to achieving all-round national development. That comes only from the injection of the motivation of national dedication and service into that apparatus. The word 'service' is used in India often in the most static sense, often euphemistically. We have any number of services inherited from the British regime. We have added many more 'services' since we became free, at the union and state levels. These are often 'services' merely in the literal sense of the term. That is a necessary aspect but not a sufficient aspect. They need to be 'service' not in letter only but in spirit also. Undue stress on career and salary, privilege and perquisites, in short, *on the triple 'p's of pay, prospect, and promotion*, make these services static and stagnant, a deadweight on a nation engaged on its arduous march to destiny. The eternal glory of the human spirit is not manifested in them. The salary one gets and the chair of power on which one sits and exercises authority do not express the true glory of man.

These are variables ; they come and go. But there is the manliness in man, the quality of the heroic in him, which rises above the selfish and the mercenary, and imparts the richness and quality to the work one does and the life one lives. Herein is the expression in man of the Atman through his body, of the immortal through the mortal. Such men elevate and enrich the functions they perform in society through the elevation and richness of their own personality. The work they do in society bear the true mark of 'service' in spirit and in letter. Such 'service' is a spontaneous expression of their personality. They live and function in the constant mood and mode of 'what can I do for you', 'how can I serve you'.

The Philosophy of Service

We need to understand today the place of this philosophy of service in human society. From ancient times man has been confronted with the problem of how to deal with his neighbour, with his fellow human beings. The problem of inter-human relationship is a continuing problem in human society. Man has found two broad answers to this question: one answer is to 'exploit' the other man for one's own advantage ; and the other answer is to 'serve' the other man, so that he and I can prosper together. These are the two answers. But, unfortunately, the second answer has not found any widespread response from the hearts of men and women. It is a bit difficult ; it calls for farsight ; whereas, the first is easy and natural, involving no stretching of sight. As an ego centred in the organic system, man is impelled to seek only his own organic satisfactions and organic survival. And he is driven to exploit others in search of these. If this is the true nature of man, if he is only an individuality confined to his organic system, and if he can aggrandize himself and get away with it without caring for others, he is perfectly right in exploiting others and in resorting to it judiciously. This is raw worldliness.

We coolly exploit the misery of other people. When a man in distress comes to us for a job, we most often take him in for the job, not on a wage or salary appropriate for the job, but on a wage or salary squeezed low out of his miserable state. This we do in the high-sounding name of worldly wisdom. But it is only foxy cleverness, not intelligence. It is unethical exploitation; it is sheer injustice to the dignity of man.

And this has been the prevailing mood and temper of our society in spite of the tall talk and profession of religion by our people. For that religion, as practised, was nothing but a static piety; and our prevailing religious ideology was nothing but a 'piety-fringed worldliness'. This alone explains our social and political defeats and failures during the past few centuries, demonstrating the social truth that self-aggrandizement and social unconcern does not ultimately pay. *Religion and politics and society must certainly be made of sterner stuff.* They are the products of a dynamic spirituality endowed with farsight and foresight and beyond the reach of static piety and self-seeking politics. In the absence of that spirituality, man in India indulged in mutual exploitation of every conceivable kind: the strong and the powerful exploiting the weak and the helpless; the learned exploiting the ignorant; man exploiting woman; and woman also, strangely enough, exploiting other women.

The result of this easy-going policy of exploitation over the centuries has been the stunting of the human personality in India and making it ineffective in history. We are now learning to unlearn this first answer and begin to experiment with the second answer, namely, service. This is the new philosophy of human excellence that stands sponsor to the mighty modern renaissance in India.

This new philosophy seeks to lift man out of that stunted ineffective state and put him on the road to growth, expansion, creativity, and fulfilment. And *renunciation* and *service*, *t̥yaga* and *seva*, are the twin watch-

words of this philosophy. It is renunciation of the puny ego centered in the organic system and manifestation of the *Atman*, the infinite Self which is the self of all; and service is the royal channel of that manifestation.

This is the ideology that will restore man to his dignity and strength, and integrate man to man to form the continued guarantee of the freedom of the individual and the unity and progress of the nation. This is true *nation-building through man-making*, in the words of Vivekananda. In passionate words uttered in the course of a letter from Chicago to the Dewan of Junagadh on 20 June 1894, Swami Vivekananda says:

‘The whole defect is here: The real nation who live in cottages have forgotten their manhood, their individuality. Trodden under the foot of the Hindu, Mussalman, or Christian, they have come to think that they are born to be trodden under the foot of everybody who has money enough in his pocket. They are to be given back their lost individuality!’

Need for Imaginative Sympathy

Here is tremendous work for our administrators and our other patriots. *It is a work for patriots, not for mere job-hunters*; for seekers of *dynamic spirituality*, and not of *static piety-fringed worldliness*; for men and women endowed with the spirit of service and not for puny self-centred careerists.

I have often spoken on this subject to our university students and administrators in various parts of India when I used to point out the need for a particular quality to be developed by our administrators today in their character and outlook. This is, in the phrase I have coined for it: *a capacity for imaginative sympathy or abstract sympathy*. What do I mean by this term? When we come across a poor man or a suffering man in the street, most of us will react with a measure of sympathy and compassion. We

We often hear some people talk of revolution. *I want all people in India today to demand and work for a revolution.* For that is the truth about our country today. It has been trying for over a century to achieve revolutionary progress in an orderly way. It is a unique type of revolution, a revolution through steady evolution; the effecting of revolutionary social changes peacefully through social education and legislative action—the democratic way of revolution.

In his famous lecture on 'My Plan of Campaign' delivered in Madras in 1897, Swami Vivekananda had summoned our people to work for such a revolution (*Complete works*, Vol. III, pp.213-16, Ninth Edition):

'I want root and branch reform.....I do not believe in reform; I believe in growth.....The tyranny of a minority is the worst tyranny that the world ever sees.....A few men who think that certain things are evil will not make a nation move. Why does not the nation move? First educate the nation, create your legislative body, and then the law will be forthcoming. First create the power, the sanction from which the law will spring. The kings are gone. Where is the new sanction, the new power of the people? Bring it up.....You must go down to the basis of the thing, to the root of the matter. That is what I call radical reform. Put the fire there and let it burn upwards and make an Indian nation.'

We have registered substantial socio-political gains already through our chosen democratic path. But challenges are still there; tremendous challenges still face us. Can we move fast enough and respond to these challenges arising from the mounting urges of our long suffering people for justice, equality, and economic and cultural opportunity.

If democracy with its peaceful and orderly change fails to generate dynamism, revolutionary violence will take over the control of these socio-political urges and overwhelm the

nation. No nation manufactures and goes in for a violent revolution deliberately. All violent revolutions are products of social despair. They overwhelm a nation when its intelligentsia cease to become dynamic agents of social change and reduce itself to slavery to the status quo and become the tail-end of the privileged few at the top. *This is the sign of the bankruptcy of social wisdom on the part of the intelligentsia concerned and of its spiritual poverty.* This is the situation that generates despair of orderly social change, driving the social urges to burst out into violent revolution. So far, our national wisdom has saved us from this contingency. But that wisdom has been flowing thin since our independence and it is no exaggeration to say that now, in this year of 1970, India is certainly on the cross-roads of her national destiny, posing a serious challenge to our politics and administration. It is in this context that the problems of administrative efficiency in our newly established democracy becomes urgent. That efficiency is to be measured by only one test, namely, *its dynamic responsiveness to the national urges.* This is achieved only by the administrative personnel representing a cross section of the national intelligentsia, *getting trained in imaginative sympathy and national dedication.* It is self-centredness and lack of concern for others that lead to corruption; and that evil is already afflicting man and society alike in India. We are not required to forego all concern for ourselves and become ascetics. We are only called upon to put this concern for ourselves in the context of a larger concern for others. This changes the whole aspect of our life and work. This is called *enlightened self-interest* in political philosophy. It is self-interest but with a touch of spiritual enlightenment, resulting in the recognition of mutuality, inter-dependence, and the spirit of service as the truth of all healthy social processes.

Even international relationships between states are being inspired by this philosophy of enlightened self-interest since the end of the Second World War. It finds expression in the active concern of the economically developed nations in the welfare of the less developed nations. But this

philosophy needs to find more pervasive expression in the field of inter-human relationships within the nation itself, where service should be installed as the prime motivation in place of exploitation. *Parasparam bhāvayantah śreyah param avāpsyatha*— 'cherishing the good of each other all shall achieve their highest welfare', proclaims Sri Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*.

From a Victim of History to a Creator of History.

We have a religious tradition, whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, or others. We have lived by this religious tradition. Some good has come to us from this tradition and some bad as well. But our religious traditions have become reduced to, what I had said earlier, a static piety or piety-fringed worldliness. We do all the pietist acts of our religion but they do not result in our spiritual growth, in the enhancement of our spiritual awareness. We continue to be steeped in worldliness with our petty attachments and hatreds and mutual exploitations and devisive loyalties. These have stood against our developing an integrated social order and evolving a progressive political state as the instrument of collective human welfare. This has resulted in our country becoming, for centuries together, *the victim of history*. Other nations created history. We became the victim of that history. Today, for the first time, we as a nation have the opportunity to become the *creator of history*. And that becomes possible only when we shed this static piety and adopt a dynamic spirituality as the essential message of religions. All religions seek to lift man from his trivial ego-centred individuality into the expansive God-centred personality, with concern for other beings as its ethical by-product. The central message of all religions is this spiritual growth, this growth of man beyond his organic limitations, beyond the trivialities of his ego-centred individuality. This is what Sri Ramakrishna describes as the growth of the 'raw' ego, which delights in self-centredness and exploitation, into the 'ripe' ego, which delights in renunciation of the little self and service of others.

Human Evolution as Spiritual Growth.

This beautiful concept of human growth and development, upheld by the religions of the world, finds strong endorsement today from the pronouncements of twentieth-century biology as to the goal of evolution at the human stage. Twentieth-century biology speaks of human evolution precisely in these ethical terms; it is psycho-social evolution in place of the organic evolution of the pre-human stage. This cerebral system of man is the finest organ that nature has evolved. Having evolved this organ, organic evolution has no further significance. We do not need nature to evolve new organs in us for our survival when with the help of this finest organ we can invent any new organs more efficient than what nature can give us through her long wasteful efforts. Therefore, biology tells us today that evolution has to be sought not at the organic level, not at the physical level, but at a level higher than both.

Biology terms such evolution as psycho-social evolution. It is a meaningful term and concept which brings biology close to the science of religion, to the science of the spiritual dimension of the human personality, and the know-how of its realization. Psycho-social evolution is evolution in which the human psyche, till now in thrall to the organic system, goes beyond its conditionings and limitations, in an indefinite expansion of love and sympathy and concern for other psyches in society. This is essentially moral and ethical evolution—an unlimited personality stirring in a limited organic individuality. This is what the science of religion calls the spiritual growth of man, or the expression of the spiritual dimension of the human personality. Vedanta proclaims that this *spirituality is the birth-right of every human being* and all religions show the way to man how to acquire this spirituality and express it in life and action. Vivekananda, therefore, defines religion as the *manifestation of the divinity already within man*. That profound dimension is there in you and in me, it is lying hidden, it is lying mixed up with our organic dimension. But man has—and he alone

has, among all species—the requisite organic capacity to disengage the spiritual dimension from the organic tie-up and manifest it freely in his life and character. That is religion *as lived experience*; and not as creed or dogma or conformity. And ethical awareness, human concern, and the mood and act of service, become by-products of this spiritual growth; they are a spill-over, into the world of society outside, of this spiritual expansion and enrichment within. This is the moral and ethical spontaneity and naturalness relevant to man, unlike the physical and organic spontaneity and naturalness relevant to all species in the pre-human stage of evolution.

Renunciation and Service

What we need today is this spiritual growth in our people, in small or big measure, and the increasing character-efficiency that it engenders. Men and women must evolve by entering this road of their spiritual growth and continue to march on, slow or fast. That is the royal road to life fulfilment, individual and collective. That road, as defined for us by Vivekananda, is renunciation and service:

Renunciation and service are the twin ideals of India ; intensify her in those channels, the rest will take care of itself.

It is renunciation of this trivial organic-centred ego and manifestation of our larger spiritual self that makes for one's life-expression in the mood and act of service and that gets nourished in turn by that mood and act of service. Intensify the nation in these channels and the rest will take care of itself, says Swami Vivekananda. These are great words conveying a profound truth. How much we need to capture that message in all of us today? Every citizen, every social functionary, needs to grasp this truth and endeavour to live it according to one's strength. The administrator must live this truth more intensely than the average citizen. Because he is the repository of state power. And that power is meant to be used for general welfare.

This is not possible for man who has not risen above his ego-centred individuality, who has not set his course on the road of psycho-social evolution and become spiritual. It is such evolution, such spiritual growth, resulting in the steady evolution of the value called *buddhi*, the fusion of enlightened reason, emotion, and will, as the *Gītā* calls it, that makes for character-efficiency, that makes man capable of wielding power to ensure general welfare. *This is the philosophy of man that should inspire all administration, all positions of social responsibility.* Herein we see human life rising to the heroic level from the vegetative starting level of the pursuit of personal profit and pleasure. It is to nourish and sustain man at that heroic level that Śrī Kṛṣṇa taught the philosophy of Yoga, says Śaṅkara in his commentary on the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*, 'so that, thus strengthened, they may become capable to accomplish general human welfare.'

Kālidāsa on the Welfare State

Free India seeks to be a welfare state. There is one fine definition of a welfare state in our classical Sanskrit literature. It is given by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*. Describing the greatness of King Raghu to whose dynasty Śrī Rāma belonged, Kālidāsa says :

**Prajānām eva bhūtyartham sa tābhyo balimagrahīt ;
Sahasragunamutsrastuh āda te hi rasam ravih—**

'it was only for the welfare of the people that he (King Raghu) took taxes from them, just like the sun, which takes moisture from the earth only to return it thousand-fold in the form of beneficent rain.'

That is a welfare state in which the state returns to the people hundred rupees for every rupee taken from them through taxation, direct and indirect. Our Fourth Five-Year Plan has allocated a target of twentyfive

thousand crores of rupees for investment in development. In a true welfare state, that amount should rise to at least a hundred thousand crores in benefit when it reaches the people. What makes this possible? It is administrative efficiency proceeding from the competence, social awareness, and character of the administrators.

This is the 'magic' wrought by the philosophy of *Yoga* expounded in the *Gītā*: *yogah karmasu kauśalam*—'yoga is efficiency, dexterity, in action.' It is a double efficiency constituted of growing personality—efficiency within and productive work-efficiency without. That is the fruit of the dynamics of administration, the 'magic' of hundred-rupees-benefits coming out of ten-rupees-investment. Between that ten and that one hundred lies the 'magic' of the science of spirituality. Where this science is not in action, the administration becomes static and heavy and produces only ten-rupee benefit for every hundred-rupee investment.

Physical Sciences and the Science of Spirituality

Some of our people, especially among our educated class, including our administrative personnel, run after all sorts of magic and miracles, puerile and sterile, in the name of cheap religion and *yoga*. In this age of the marvels of science, such magic and miracle appear infantile. What magic and miracle performed in the name of a cheap religion and *yoga*, which are secret and incommunicable, superstition-generating and weakening, can compare with the 'magic' performed by the physical sciences, verified and verifiable, open and communicable whether in the field of curing of disease, increase of food production, or putting a man or a vehicle on the moon and bringing both back to earth.

The only miracle that can match and over-match such miracles of physical science is the miracle of purity, love, compassion, character-efficiency and service—the miracles,

as remarked by Gandhiji, of transmitting hatred into love and violence into non-violence, in collective human relationships—which are all the sweet fruits of man's spiritual growth. This is the product of religion as a science, verified and verifiable, open and communicable, unlike the miracles of that cheap religion, but like the truths of the physical sciences.

It will be the dawn of a great and glorious era in India when our people turn away from all cheap and flimsy, magical and misty and secret ideas of religion and turn to cultivate religion as the science of the spiritual growth of man, yielding strength of character, clarity of thought, and love and service, along with the cultivation of the various physical sciences and technology. *The junction of these two energy resources will alone ensure the fullest growth of man and the all-round development of the nation.* Can we not dream of an India where there will be no poor people sleeping on the foot-paths or picking crumbs from the dustbins! Where man will be restored to his dignity and worth! What a beautiful national vision! And what possibilities are available today for its realisation! Why is it that thousands of us, working in various institutions of government and private agencies, do not become ecstatic over this idea? The trouble is that we have become complacent, static, self-centred. We need to initiate the thinking process, as I said in the beginning, which alone can stir the stagnant waters of our life and make it flow. Let me repeat that behind our great culture lies the energy of thought; behind modern western culture, similarly, lies the energy of thought; We need to blend both these energies today and have them at the back of our actions in order to realize that vision. So, thinking and especially thinking together, as we are doing now, and a will oriented to service, are essential for progress. And what we need is progress, development, fulfilment. We need to galvanize the administration by introducing human and social motivations into it. It is this energy of proper ethical motivation that is sadly lacking in our administration. In the field of our administrative efficiency, *the one truth that is proclaimed by*

the twenty two years of our post-independence history is that forty nine per cent alone is contributed by the training programme constituent, waiting for the remaining fifty one per cent to be contributed by its motivation constituent. Since the latter has been tardy in coming, administrative efficiency has remained marginal. It is high time that we recognise the significance of this ratio and take steps to stimulate the motivation constituent.

The Grhastha to Grow into the Citizen.

I have referred earlier to the truth of the need of the *grhastha* to grow into the citizen. Freely translated, *grhastha* means the house-holder. The Hindu family, held together by the moral and spiritual bonds of mutual love and service, has functioned as a healthy unit of the Hindu society. And the *grhastha* is the presiding and integrating personality in that family unit. Our society has rendered a fine account, throughout history, of this social ideal of the *grhastha*. But it did not keep pace with the changing times and, becoming more inward-looking than is healthy, *it increasingly over-looked the fact of its being only a unit in a larger social whole.* That social whole has been expanding in range and scope through the centuries, until today it has become a multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-racial, and multi-what-not nation. Yet all the time that *grhastha* concept has remained stuck up in its original formulation. Much of the political failures of India in recent centuries have to be attributed to this fact. The excess of his inward-looking direction, dictated by an other-worldly piety producing a merit with its other-worldly rewards, incapacitated him from evolving a stable political state which derives from a measure of his outward-looking energies and interests. Outward worldly interests meant for him only opportunities and activities to earn wealth for his little family circle. Such a policy led him eventually not to a dynamic spirituality capable of synthesizing the outer and inner aspects of life, such as is taught in the *Gītā*, but to that static piety, to that piety-fringed worldliness, where

both piety and worldliness conspired to narrow his interests and reduce him to ineffectiveness. The Indian *grhastha* needs to be redeemed from this stagnation. The great *grhastha* ideal needs to be invested with a new dynamism. This is the contribution of the dynamic spirituality of the *Gita*, of the comprehensive philosophy of the *Practical Vedānta* of Swami Vivekananda.

With the touch of this philosophy, the *grahasta* idea undergoes a dynamic spiritual transformation. A family is essentially a biological group. What holds the members of this group together is the sense of genetic relationship. There are present, undoubtedly, the spiritual values of love and service; but these values are restricted and limited by that genetic relationship and express themselves, therefore, more as biological values than as spiritual values. It is only when these values find expression outside that biological *milieu* of the genetic family group, that they disclose their truly spiritual character.

This is ethical sense, the onset of which puts man on the fascinating journey of his spiritual expansion, development and fulfilment. This is expressed by Sri Ramakrishna in one of his sayings: 'I' and 'mine' is *māyā*; 'thou' and 'thine' is *dayā*. By this growth, the *grahastha*, while functioning in the limited *milieu* of his family, becomes also capable of responding to the wider social *milieu* outside and developing a responsive and responsible political personality. And by so responding, he converts the family from the stagnation of *samsāra* or worldliness into a nursery of his spiritual education and growth and his own body from the tomb of his soul into the venue, the *kurukṣetra*, of his spiritual evolution. This is the spiritual value of citizenship with its twin constituents of the political and the ethical.

Political citizenship can be achieved by any individual by merely attaining the physical age prescribed by the constitution. We stand in a queue from birth and when we count our age as twentyone, as at present, or even

eighteen, as it may one day be, we automatically become citizens. But the ethical constituent demands that we become citizens only when we imbibe the values of *freedom and responsibility*. These values are spiritual and their onset in a person reveals that the person has started growing spiritually and that he or she has added *educational maturity* to his *physical maturity*.

And today the Hindu ideal of the grhastha must grow into the modern ideal of the citizen. With this expansion and growth of his personality, the *grhastha* will develop into a mighty centre of creative energy and character-efficiency capable of working out a progressive social order reflecting the *vedāntic* vision of human dignity and excellence.

The Anatomy of Nepotism

This is how man in India will rise from the tyranny of the genetic and the biological and the sensate into the freedom of the spiritual, which is his birthright and which he alone, among all species in nature, is organically fitted to strive for and realise.

The tyranny of the genetic over man in society is what lies behind social evils such as nepotism. Indian and foreign observers of the Indian scene have marked this as one of our more serious social evils, especially after independence. We have plenty of instances of persons holding political or social authority appointed to select candidates for scholarships or jobs, selecting candidates who are less qualified but closer to them in genetic relationships, which some of them can detect even by smell! In all such instances, *we see the presence of the old genetically limited grhastha and miss the new spiritually grown citizen.* While disclosing the spiritual dwarfishness of the person concerned in authority, all nepotism also increases injustice in society and weakens the social fabric. Justice or *dharmā* or ethical sense, is the cement that unites man to man to form the integrated structure of a society. A mere aggregation of

humanity does not make a society just as a mere accumulation of bricks does not constitute a building. A policy is held together by the spiritual value of *dharmā*, ethical sense. *Dhāraṇāt dharmā ityāhuḥ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ*—‘*Dharma* is what holds together; *dharmā* holds together people (in a society)’; says the *Mahābhārata*.

The Genetic *versus* the Spiritual

The biological and genetic bond can hold together a society at best upto the clan or tribe level; even at these levels, the more serious social strains and tensions need for their resolution the spiritual value of *dharmā* or ethical sense. And modern biology rules out the possibility of pure genetic races obtaining in any civilized societies today. The genetic bond becomes completely ineffective, therefore, for the integration of humanity in the large human aggregations of the national and multi-national states. The strength of these modern states proceed from their human integration; and that integration is essentially the product of the general political education of their populations in ethical sense and human concern. This makes for a certain social compactness, national self-discipline, and general effectiveness within the nation and without. Their ethical sense may not have grown beyond that national level; some of them may have expressed themselves internationally in exploitation and aggression. And that needs correction and education through the increasing liberation of ethical and spiritual values. But that they have taken the first steps in ethical expansion and in diffusing ethical awareness in their human populations generally is evident from the fact that they have released the spiritual resources in man to successfully solve their basic human problems of poverty and general backwardness. Individually, some few in India may have advanced far ahead spiritually. But collectively, we as a nation are yet to master the first lessons of that ethical and spiritual education involved in the *grhasṭha* growing into the citizen and thus developing India's vast human resources.

Dynamic Goodness

This is the meaning of Vivekananda's stress on a *man-making education* and a *man-making religion*; and this also is the significance of his observation that, as followers of the *Gītā*, the Western nations are more advanced than we in India. *All political growth of man involves an expansion of ethical awareness in varying degrees, beyond the limited biological family group, and the manifestation of the spirit of service as its by-product.* The general absence of this spirit of service in India is evidence of our political and ethical illiteracy, in spite of our talking high philosophy and religion and politics. As a result, we have bundles of opinions and beliefs which we never cared to develop into *lived convictions*. We have yet to realise that opinions and beliefs are sterile and that it is only when we develop some of them into lived convictions that we achieve the character-efficiency of manliness, with the power of impact on the social situation around us. *This is dynamic goodness* unlike the static ineffective goodness, what is called goody-goodness, which is such a prominent characteristic of most of our people. This, again, is the result of our people's putting the cart before the horse, in the field of religion. We resorted to the higher ideals of religion, consisting of the struggle for saintliness before we had built the base levels of religion through the struggle to achieve manliness. Our goody-goodness is the product of our indigestion of those higher ideals of religion; the capacity for that digestion can come to us only through the struggle for, and achievement of, manliness, of which the spirit and mood of service is the nursery and the fruit.

The Mood and Mode of Service

Barring a small minority, most of us in India have not captured the spirit and mood of service. In most of our offices and institutions, like banks, railway ticket offices, airline offices, secretariat offices etc., a citizen is treated by the person-in-charge, in mood and mode and words, more

as an intruder than as one in need of help. He forgets that he is there, and is paid for, to help and serve a fellow-citizen. The contrast becomes glaring when we go to foreign countries, where you are greeted with a face of welcome and helpfulness and with the words: what can I do for you; how can I help you. In America I have experienced this again and again; if you go to catch a plane rather late, the person-in-charge at the air office counter will sympathise with you and hurry up your checking and other formalities and put you on the waiting van to the plane. In India, often you may be scolded for coming late and left to stew in your own juice. In other countries the person-in-charge responds to such situations by *imaginatively* realising that you had some difficulty on the way and are in need of his help. This is the normal pattern in other countries. When will it become a normal pattern in ours also? And when it becomes so, will it not disclose that spiritual growth of the Indian personality which we have been discussing?

Charity : Enlightened *versus* Un-enlightened

Such a spiritual growth will have a wholesome impact on all aspects of our inter-human relationship. Take for example, charity, especially charity by our rich people. Again, barring some minority of our rich people who are truly enlightened in their charity, the vast majority do charity in the most un-enlightened way. It is more to earn a pious merit for oneself than to remove the suffering of the person in front; often, it is unwilling and forced charity, mostly given without grace, without understanding, and without freedom of the spirit, as if one rich slave is tossing some coins to another poor slave. I once addressed an assembly of industrialists and businessmen and took the occasion to tell them that we in India did not know the mood and mode of charity. Even in a welfare state, there will be need for charity, a personal response to a social need. I narrated to them my experience in Rangoon. The Ramakrishna Mission was running one of the finest and

most popular of hospitals in the whole of Burma in Rangoon for decades till it was nationalised, along with all other similar ones, a few years ago. We used to collect funds for the hospital from the Indian, Burmese Buddhist, and European merchants of Rangoon. And we experienced a world of difference between the way of charity of the Hindu merchants and Burmese Buddhist merchants. Of course, the Hindu merchants paid substantially; and after Burma's independence, when many Hindus left for India, the Burmese Buddhist merchants became the more substantial donors. But the difference between the two groups remained wide as to the method of giving charity. When you go to a Hindu merchant to collect the promised amount, you will be greeted often with the words: come tomorrow. This will rarely happen in the case of the Burmese Buddhist merchant. He makes you feel you are wanted and gives you the promised amount with a sense of devotion. They follow the Buddha's precept; they observe, better than the Hindu, the spirit of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad's* exhortation on charity:

Śraddhayā deyam ; aśraddhayā adeyam ; śriyā deyam ; hriyā deyam ; bhriyā deyam ; samvidā deyam—

'Give with *śraddhā*; give not without *śraddhā*; give with *śrī* (with open hand); give with modesty; give with fear (that what you give may be too small for the purpose); give with understanding (of the purpose and social relevance of the charity).

What beautiful sentiments these are! And how much we have deviated from them by remaining content with a static piety and failing to strive for a dynamic spirituality! Our rich have to realise that spending is the dynamics of economics and that wise spending is more difficult and important than earning. And if some person or institution comes to him on behalf of a project of social service, he must consider it his privilege to have an opportunity to come across a healthy channel for the flow of his surplus

wealth. If he has money to spare or if he has none, or even if he has paid his bit to some other cause, he can always receive the charity-seeker with a welcome word of appreciation for his good work and wish him god-speed in that worthy field of human service, for which he himself cannot spare the time. This is the prevailing attitude of the rich in America where, as one American writer has put it, between the two exhortations of Jesus as to loving God with all one's heart and mind and soul, and loving one's neighbour as oneself, the American has wonderfully responded to the second, though not to the first, which he thinks beyond his understanding.

The Gita's Philosophy of Administration

The philosophy of administration will vary according to the philosophy of the society and the state. It will be one type in a feudal set up, another in a totalitarian one, and still another in a democratic one. The philosophy of democratic administration derives from the inalienable dignity and worth of the human personality and the active concern to foster the same. Its operative principle is that man is essentially educable and not vile and that social change is, and can be, brought about in an orderly way and peacefully by breaking of wits and not by breaking of heads.

The *Gita* gives us profound insight into such a philosophy and its relevance to all men of responsibility, into which category fall all our administrators. Philosophy is like a lamp; it illumines our way. A single person needs only a small lamp to light his way. But a large congregation will need a more powerful light to light its way. Similarly, an ordinary philosophy is enough to light the life-path of a private citizen. But a more than ordinary philosophy is necessary to light the path of life and work of a man of social responsibility. What is the nature and scope of this more-than-ordinary philosophy?

In his brief but masterly introduction to his commentary on the *Gītā*, Śāṅkarācārya conveys in two sentences the nature and scope of this philosophy :

‘The Vedānta is (an integrated philosophy of) a two-fold *dharma*, namely, *pravṛtti* or outward directed action and *nivṛtti* or inward-directed meditation, which (together) form the means for the maintenance of the world on even keel ; for they are, verily, the means of the *abhyudaya*, social welfare and *nīḥśreyasa*, spiritual growth and fulfilment, of all beings’.

Philosophy has been defined as seeing life steadily and seeing it as a whole. Politics, economics, sociology, art, ethics, and religion view life in segments, and they thus form departments of the science of man. Similarly physics, astronomy, chemistry, and biology view nature in segments and form departments of the science of physical nature. And philosophy or *Brahmavidyā*, as understood in Vedānta, is the science of sciences, *sarvavidyā-pratiṣṭha*, as the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* expresses it, being the synthesis of the sciences of physical nature and the sciences of human nature. And the *Gītā* is the *yoga śāstra*, the science and technique of *yoga*, deriving from that *Brahmavidyā*, as the colophon at the end of each of its chapters proclaims.

It is in the light of this rational and comprehensive philosophy that the *Gītā* expounds its philosophy of administration. The touch of that philosophy transforms the administrator from a static individual into a dynamic personality ; from a *creature* of history into a *creator* of history ; from a subject or *prajā* into a sovereign or *rajā*.

We have a word in Sanskrit ; it comes in the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*. That word is *Rajarsi*. For many of us, Hindus, this great word evokes all sorts of distorted meanings, magical and misty and uncanny. We shall have to remove all such distorted meanings from our minds ; and then we shall find a wonderfully constructive and creative idea in it. Śāṅkarācārya defines this word

Rājārṣi as *rajanah ca te ṛṣyah ca* — ‘they who are both *rājās* and *ṛṣis* in one’. What does that mean? We have no *rajas* in the sense of kings or crowned head to-day. Ours is a republican state. We have thus no *rājā* or *rājās* in the formal sense of the term, in the sense arising from the external accoutrements attached to the office of a *rājā*. Who, then, is a *rājā* in the basic sense? Anyone on whom depends the happiness and welfare of thousands. That is the meaning of the word *rājā* in the Sanskrit tradition, *rājate*, *virājate*, ‘shines’. The one who shines in responsibility. The light in him is not in a bushel but on a candle stand, as remarked by Jesus, so that it can throw light all-round. In this sense, even the father and the mother at home are *rājās*. The administrator is a *rājā*. A minister is a *rājā*. An industrial magnate is a *rājā*; for on them depend the happiness and welfare of thousands and thousands. Every citizen in a free republic is sovereign and free; in that, they are all *rājās* in a general sense; among them all, the holders of power and responsibility are *rājās* in a special sense. How do they handle their power and responsibility? What philosophy, what light, guides them? That is the most vital question.

If they are guided by the lamp of the ordinary philosophy to which the ordinary person resorts to light his path, they may more likely and more often use the power and position to aggrandize themselves at the cost of society. This is not intelligence but only foxy cleverness. It does not express the *heroism of manliness*. But if they are to enhance the life and welfare of the people under their charge, and also light up their paths to happiness and fulfilment, they will need to resort to the light of a more than ordinary lamp shed by a more than ordinary philosophy, which can lead them on the steep and rough path of ethical development and human concern, and generate the extraordinary energy of character-efficiency and dedication. This is the *sādhana* or struggle that makes one a *ṛṣi* or a sage; it is the heroism of saintliness.

The combination of a *rājā* and *ṛṣi* in an administrator, the synthesis of *manliness* and *saintliness*, this is what is desired by the *Gītā*. When one combines power and social responsibility with the strength arising from character, clear thinking, dedication, and practical efficiency, one effects in oneself this unique synthesis of the *Rājārṣi* of the *Gītā*. So Kṛṣṇa says in the opening three verses of the *Gītā* :

‘ I taught this immortal *yoga* to Vivasvān ; he taught it to Manu who, in turn, taught it to Ikṣvāku. Coming down thus in a tradition this *yoga* was known to the *rājārṣis* ; in the course of long ages, this *yoga* was lost, O Arjuna. This same ancient *yoga*, this invaluable mystery, I am now imparting to you, finding in you a devotee and a friend.’

Yogah Karmasu Kauśalam

Why was this *yoga* lost in the course of ages ? Asks Śaṅkara in his commentary and answers : ‘because it fell into the hands of physical and mental weaklings and of those without discipline of their sense organs’—*durbalān ajitendriyān prāpya* and he adds that kṛṣṇa taught it to such men of high responsibility in order to strengthen them and, endowed with which, they may work successfully to protect and cherish the people’.

When we became free, we instituted the Indian Administrative Service. This service, the I.A.S., adopted a phrase from the second chapter of the *Gītā* as its motto : *Yogah Karmasu kauśalam*—‘Yoga is efficiency or dexterity in action’. That should be the philosophy not only of the I.A.S., but of every branch of the administration, of every person of responsibility. Do not associate anything magical or misty with this great philosophy of yoga. Kṛṣṇa did not want that Arjuna should sit in a cave or on the roadside and do some *prāṇāyāma* or the yoga postures. But such, and often something less than such, is, unfortunately,

what the generality of Hindus understands by *yoga*. We have well nigh destroyed this grand science of practical spirituality. We will have to disabuse our minds completely of all such notions and approach the *Gītā* with a free and fresh mind to understand its *yoga*. It is a lofty philosophy; it is strong meat for weak stomachs, as it is a teaching imparted by a vital and dynamic teacher to his vital and dynamic disciple.

Tasmāt Yogi Bhavārjuna

And Kṛṣṇa will be happy today that, after many many centuries, his philosophy is going to be courageously tested and verified by batches and batches of free India's youths called to her service in various responsible positions. And Kṛṣṇa will today whisper to every such youth what he commanded Arjuna: *Tasmāt Yogi bhavārjuna*—'Therefore, O Arjuna, be a *yogi*'. *Tasmāt* means 'therefore', i.e., if this philosophy is true and commends itself to your reason, be spiritual and work out the salvation of your nation, says kṛṣṇa to us today. This *yoga* can be practised in offices, homes, farms, and factories, in the bench, the bar, and the pulpit. Banish the idea of *yoga* as something professional. Be each one of you a *yogi*, some more perfect, some less; every one has the organic capacity to manifest the ever-present divinity within by going beyond organic limitations.

In this philosophy, there is the confluence of two energy streams, namely, *the energy of vision* and *the energy of practical implementation*, the energy of meditation and the energy of action. It signifies the confluence of the energy of Kṛṣṇa, the unarmed charioteer and the master of *yoga*, and the energy of Arjuna, fully armed for heroic action under the guidance of Kṛṣṇa.

Conclusion : The Challenge of a Grand Testament

This is the great message of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It is the loftiest and the most practical philosophy of administration. Here is, for instance, a district for which the state has allocated twenty crores of rupees of the Fourth Plan funds. The administration converts it into a one-hundred-crore-rupee benefits for the people of the district. This is *yoga* ; this is *karmasu kauśalam*. Where, on an acre, its farmers raised five hundred kilograms of foodgrains before, they now raise fifteen hundred kilograms. That is *yoga*. Where there was insult and oppression of the scheduled castes and tribes, there now reigns equality and human dignity ; where there was darkness of ignorance and superstition, there is now the light of knowledge and culture. Where there was a steady increase of crime and litigation over the years, there now shines the spirit of mutual trust and co-operation. Where there was the virus of communal conflicts and suspicion there now reigns peace and social cohesion and an enlightened clamour from all communities for the enactment of a common national civil code to complete the process of nation-building. The social process as a whole, which was aimless and directionless before, due to which there was the growing tendency to boredom and frustration even among the youth and the rich, which found expression in anti-social attitudes and behaviour, now becomes dynamic and steady and geared to the steady liberation of spiritual values imbedded in life and human fulfilment in a fundamental way. All these are the external fruits of that *yoga*, of which the internal fruits are the happiness, peace, and the sense of fulfilment of the administrators concerned, resulting from their growth in ethical sense and spiritual awareness. This is the fusion of the energy of manliness with the energy of saintliness, which alone has the power of impact on the world situation to lead humanity on the road to collective human welfare. This is the combination of philanthropic energy with philosophic calm demanded of the science of sociology by Herbert Spencer.

This is the double efficiency issuing from the philosophy of *yoga* of the *Gitā* and from its *rājarsi* spirit inspiring politics and administration. This is the meaning and significance of the grand testament of the *Gitā* given in its closing verse, which the people of modern India will do well to take as a challenge to them :

Yatra yogeśwarah kṛṣṇo yatra pārtho dhanurdharah ;

Tatra śrīḥ vijayo bhūtiḥ dhruvā nītiḥ matih mama—

‘Where (there is) kṛṣṇa, the Master of *Yoga* (and) where (there is) Pārtha, the wielder of the bow, there (in that society), wealth, victory, welfare, and unshakable justice and moral sense (shall prevail)’

